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6

## ADDRESS

OF THE

**CENTRAL HICKORY CLUB,**

TO THE

**REPUBLICAN CITIZENS**

OF THE

**UNITED STATES.**

ADOPTED OCTOBER 9, 1832, AND ORDERED TO BE PRINTED.

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**City of Washington,**

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1832.

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## A D D R E S S, &c.



AN Association has been formed in the City of Washington, denominated the *Central Hickory Club*. The following Declaration of Principles constitutes the basis of its organization, viz :

1. "The Federal Union must be preserved."
2. The Constitution of the United States is a delegation of powers.
3. The State Constitutions are limitations of power.
4. It is the duty of the representatives of the people to obey the instructions and carry into effect the will of their constituents, within the limits of the Constitution.
5. The object of our system of government is to secure to the American people the highest degree of liberty and equality of which mankind is susceptible in the social state.
6. The perfection of civil liberty is the power to do as we please, without infringing the rights of others.
7. All laws, whether made by the States or the General Government which control, directly or indirectly, our opinions or observances, religious or otherwise, our choice of pursuits or of residence, when they do not interfere with the rights of others, are encroachments upon civil liberty.
8. "In the full enjoyment of the gifts of Heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law. But when the laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages, artificial distinctions, to grant titles, gratuities, and exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society, the farmers, mechanics and laborers, who have not the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their government."
9. The machinery of government should be simple and cheap.
10. Taxes levied upon the people should be apportioned, as nearly as may be, according to the advantages which each citizen derives from the government, and should be sufficient in amount only to support it in the performance of its legitimate functions.

11. The foreign policy of our general government, is to "ask nothing that is not clearly right, and submit to nothing that is wrong." Its domestic policy consists "in leaving individuals and States as much as possible to themselves; in making itself felt, not in its power, but in its beneficence; not in its control, but in its protection; not in binding the States more closely to the centre, but in leaving each to move unobstructed in its proper orbit."

12. We consider ability, integrity, and fidelity to the fundamental principles of our republican institutions, necessary qualifications for every office of honor or trust in our Republic.

The language in which many of these fundamental principles are propounded, is that which has been used in his public declarations and messages, by our venerated Chief Magistrate. It is our design to aid, with our united influence, however feeble, in giving them practical effect during the balance of his administration, and perpetuating their influence in the administration of our government. We have also sought, in the appellation of our Club, and in the language of its Declaration, to secure to our object, after President Jackson shall no longer move among our Statesmen, the influence of his great name.

A brief explanation of our fundamental principles seems appropriate in the commencement of our duties.

*"1. Our Federal Union must be preserved."*

Men are beginning to think too lightly of the Union of these States. Some maintain that its value to the South is overbalanced by the evils of the present protecting system; others insist, if that system be abandoned, it is of no value to the North. *Both are wrong.* If the evils of that system be as great on the one hand, or its benefits on the other, as the wildest enthusiasts, on either side, depict, there are yet advantages in *Union* which transcend them all. It preserves peace between twenty-four rival Republics, covering a large space on this globe. It secures between them ready intercourse and free trade. It provides for the transmission and diffusion of intelligence, with a safety and speed unequalled

on earth. It maintains the pervading influence of certain great principles, useful alike to all ranks and conditions of men; such as the inviolability of contracts, an uniform tender in the payment of debts, and prospective legislation upon crimes and punishments. The dissolution of the Union would lead to frequent, if not perpetual wars, desolating our fruitful fields, exposing our peaceful cities to fire and sword, and deluging our country with fraternal blood. In addition to the devastations of war, taxes, ten-fold more heavy than the protecting system imposes, would be required to support armies and navies, extended civil establishments, and pensioners. Custom Houses would be multiplied on the borders of each State as well as in the maritime ports; free trade at home would be lost without recovering it abroad; all safe, expeditious, and cheap transmission of intelligence would be cut off; all fundamental principles violated in general anarchy; and our people reduced, like those of Europe, to labor only for the support of their rulers, and those costly establishments which constant danger would make it necessary for each State to maintain.

Our people must not be reduced to this condition.—“*Our Federal Union must be preserved.*” It is the *only* shield of the people. Its dissolution will soon be followed by the loss of all that is valuable in liberty. It will multiply beyond measure those who live upon the people’s industry; and it will bring nothing in return but ages of taxation, misery and blood. Our remedies for all abuses are, therefore, *within the Union*. To seek a relief from existing evils in a dissolution of the Union, is to rush through the flames of anarchy into the arms of slavery. With us, therefore, the Union is *sacred*. Its preservation, as the *only* means of preserving civil liberty, is the first object of our association. We look upon the *enemies of the Union* as the *enemies of liberty*.

“2. *The Constitution of the United States is a delegation of powers.*”

To this general principle all assent. Differences arise, however, in determining what is delegated. We are advocates of a strict construction. When doubts arise, the question with us is, not whether a power is *necessary*, but whether it has been *delegated*. If it be *necessary* and not *delegated*, it cannot be exercised. To authorize its exercise, resort must be had to an amendment of the Constitution. Nor can a power which conflicts with any provision of the Constitution, or violates any right of the States, be assumed and exercised as a means of executing clearly delegated powers. The general government cannot, in the use of means, enlarge its own powers, nor curtail those reserved to the States.

*"3. The State Constitutions are limitations of power."*

Were the people of the States to abolish their Constitutions, as well as the Constitution of the United States, and elect legislators untrammelled by instructions, the legislative bodies thus constituted, would possess all political power, and be as omnipotent as the British parliament. The State Constitutions are, in their general character, *standing instructions* from the people to their representatives, forbidding the exercise of certain powers. In some instances, they direct the performance of specific acts; but these provisions confer no power. They merely make it the duty of the legislatures to exercise certain powers which would have existed in just as full a manner if they had not been inserted; but would have remained undistinguished in the mass of legislative discretion.

*"6. The perfection of civil liberty is the power to do as we please, without infringing the rights of others."*

This article, and those which follow, preceding the 12th and last, will be considered in conjunction.

Perfect men would need no government. Each one, knowing his own rights and the rights of others, would content himself with quietly enjoying that which belonged to him, without molesting his neighbor. Neither life, liberty, char-

acter, nor property would be in danger from human violence, and therefore no laws would be necessary for their protection. In such a state, government would be unnecessary and unknown. Men would not choose legislators; for they would need no laws. They would not be taxed to support armies and navies; for there would be no enemy to encounter. They would not pay money to build prisons and support the officers of the law; for none would commit violence upon their persons, assaults upon their character, or depredations upon their property. Each would be his own ruler, perfectly free and perfectly just.

It should be the object of government to place the honest and upright man as nearly as possible in this condition. It cannot make him *more free* than it finds him; it is its only legitimate object to *protect him in the enjoyment of his freedom*. He does not ask government to take the property of others and give it to him, or to subject their persons to his control. All he asks is, that it shall protect him in the enjoyment of his property, and shield his character and person from the assaults of bad men. He is justly taxed, and cheerfully pays a sum sufficient to support an adequate number of officers to perform these duties. He asks for no advantage over others; he only demands that others shall have no advantage over him. Men thus governed, would enjoy "the highest degree of liberty and equality of which mankind is susceptible in the social state."

The only use of government, is, *to keep off evil*. We do not want its assistance in seeking after good. Providence protects us, and leaves us to our own will. If *Infinite Wisdom* has deemed it inexpedient to infringe upon human liberty, even to promote human happiness, shall this prerogative be assumed by a *fallible government*? He is as much a slave who is forced to his own good as he who is unwillingly plunged into evil. That government is as much a tyranny, which forces the Laplander, contrary to his will, into the genial climes of the South, as that which drives the

unhappy Pole to the frozen deserts of Siberia. Violation of human will is the violation of human liberty, and when it is not necessary to the protection of the rights of others, it is *tyranny and oppression*, whether exercised *for good or for evil*.

Men do not complain of government for compelling the payment of just debts, for protecting their reputation, restraining the trespasser, punishing the thief, executing the murderer, and shielding them from the ravages of a foreign enemy. It is not for acts like these that discontents arise; rebellions are engendered, and revolutions break forth. These occur only when government departs from its legitimate objects—"when the laws undertake to add to natural "and just advantages artificial distinctions, to grant titles, "gratuities, and exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer, and the potent more powerful." A government perfectly just is not to be expected; because that very imperfection of our nature which makes it indispensable, necessarily mingles in its administration. But the more deeply impressed are the people and public officers with the legitimate objects of government, the nearer will it approach to perfection, less cause will be given for discontent, and less frequent will be rebellions and revolutions.

12. "*We consider ability, integrity, and fidelity to the fundamental principles of our republican institutions, necessary qualifications for every office of honor or trust in our Republic.*"

All concede the necessity of ability and integrity, as qualifications for office; but in selections for executive and judicial stations, too little regard is generally paid to correct political principle.

Perhaps it is unfortunate in a free government, that office carries with it some degree of political influence. The respect of some, the interest of others, and his commanding position, give to the opinions of a public officer more weight with the people than generally attends those of the private

citizen. It is important, therefore, that public offices shall be held by men of correct political principles. The people do not hesitate to put men in office, or out, according to the principles which they profess and practice. It is the only process by which their own principles can be made to prevail in the administration of their government. The same reason exists why other officers, not chosen by the people, should accord with them in their views of government, and its administration. On this ground it may be maintained, that it is the duty of those entrusted with the administration of the government, to fill all offices in their gift with those who have proved by profession and practice their devotion to the fundamental principles of our institutions. Would the Emperor of Austria, or the Autocrat of Russia, fill his cabinet, his bureaus, or his clerkships, with known republicans in principle? They understand too well the effect of excluding their friends, and giving place and influence to the enemies of their despotic principles, to be guilty of such suicidal acts. Should *Republicans* be less regardful of the principles which form the basis of their institutions, and the means to give them practical effect? Should they place the offices of the Republic in the hands of those who would destroy it? If monarchs are so true *to themselves*, should not republican magistrates be true *to the people*? Is it not *their duty* to fill the offices in their gift with men who have proved themselves *devoted to popular rights*?

Offices in our government are created for the good of the people, and not to provide places for the personal favorites of the chief magistrate, or any other man or men. For the people are they established, and at the expense of the people are they maintained. They should be limited in number to the actual exigencies of the public service, and filled with men of talents, integrity, industry, and pure republican principles. No man has a *property* in the office he holds. It is a *trust for the people*, and whenever the people, or those whom they have selected to superintend that por-

tion of their public service, think proper to place the trust in other hands, no *personal wrong* is done to him who is displaced. As a matter of expediency and humanity, individual inconvenience or distress should not be produced, without cause; but in no case can the displaced officer complain that he is deprived of any *personal right*.

The object of this association is to aid in giving practical effect to great and essential *principles*. Men will be supported only as a means of accomplishing that end. Our views of these means, at this time, is exhibited in the following extract from our Declaration:—

"As the most efficient means now in our power to give our principles practical effect, we will support the re-election of Andrew Jackson as President of the United States, and the election of Martin Van Buren as Vice President. Our venerable President has done all that was possible, and more than any other man could do, to arrest the strides of aristocratic power, and federal usurpation; and on him, more than any other, we rely, to finish the conquest which has been begun, to allay the storm of nullification, to save the Union, restore to the States their lost rights, and preserve the liberties of the people. As now, so hereafter, we will support for the Presidency, that man who shall be most able and willing to give practical effect to the principles we profess in the administration of the government."

It is but little that we can hope to do in promoting the re-election of Gen. Jackson and the election of Mr. Van Buren, as Vice President. We propose to touch only a few of those topics embraced in the present discussion, and those briefly. First we notice—

#### THE CHARGE OF PROSCRIPTION

From our own knowledge, and information acquired from others with whom we associate, we are enabled to state the following facts:

When General Jackson came into power, there were in office in this city—

Of his enemies, about	288
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Of his friends, about	71
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Majority of enemies	217
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Of these *forty-three* only were removed, and three of them were re-appointed. He, therefore, removed only *one fifth* of his enemies.

There had been last spring *eleven resignations* and *twelve deaths*.

The whole number of vacancies which had occurred up to the present year, deducting the three clerks re-appointed, was *sixty-three*.

There had been a moderate increase of clerks, mostly in the General Post Office, rendered necessary by the extension of the public business. Including these, the relative strength of parties in office in 1831, was as follows:

Gen. Jackson's enemies		173
His friends,		140
Majority of enemies		33

No material change has taken place since, and at this day a considerable majority of the office holders in this city are *the enemies of the President!*

It is well known, that few of the actual removals were made on political grounds. In most cases, peculation, neglect of duty, intemperance, immorality, or imbecility, was the moving cause. Some of the few who were removed for political reasons, were afterwards discovered to have been guilty of gross abuses and frauds, as well in their official trusts as in their private transactions.

The proportion of removals of public officers out of the city of Washington has been still less. Of the post-masters in the United States, *not one in fourteen* has been removed, embracing all causes whatsoever. In some States nearly every Postmaster is *now* the President's political enemy, and in all of them, a large proportion.

Of the District Attorneys, Marshals and Custom House Officers, the proportion of removals has been somewhat greater; but a majority of those offices is believed still to be in the hands of the President's enemies.

The list of removals recently published and now circulating through the Union is not only imperfect, but grossly incorrect. It is imperfect, because the name of *Tobias Watkins*, one of the removals which made the most noise, is entirely omitted; and it is grossly incorrect, because it contains numerous names of men who have never been removed, and some names twice over. All whose terms of office had expired, and who were not re-appointed, are put upon the list. These names make up something like two-thirds or three-fourths of the whole.

We will now select a few cases to show what it is that the aristocratic party censure, by displaying this list before the people.

*Samuel R. Gilman*, Collector at Castine, is one of this list. The records of the Treasury shew that he had used \$3,549 of the public money.

*Myndert M. Dox*, Collector at Buffalo, is another. He was detected in taking false receipts to obtain credit at the Treasury for payments never made, and afterwards insisting that the parties should receive payment in beer, he being a brewer.

*Robert Arnold*, Collector at Perth Amboy, is another. He was discovered to have embezzled about \$88,000 of public money and fled into Canada to escape punishment.

*James Robertson*, Collector at Petersburg, Va., is another. He had collected public money and reported bonds as in suit which had been paid, so that his default was \$24,857.

*Andrew P. Hay*, Receiver of public moneys at Jeffersonville, Indiana, is another. He was in arrears to the government, and could not or would not pay. His default was \$6,919.

*Asa Rogerson*, Collector of Elizabeth City, N. Carolina, is another. He was discovered to be interested in contracts given out by himself; and on investigation of his affairs, it appeared that he had also collected and applied to his own use \$32,791 of public money which he had reported to be still due. He fled, to escape the penalties of the law.

The names of these peculators and defaulters, with many more of a similar character, are now paraded before the country to prove the proscriptive spirit of this administration! If the President had kept such men in office, after detection, he would have deserved impeachment. Yet it is for performing his duty to the country, in forcing them to give way to honest men, that he is now assailed. Will the opposition recall Arnold and Rogerson from Canada, and reinstate them in office, with all the other defaulters, if they succeed in defeating the re-election of Gen. Jackson? Such is their intention, if there be any sincerity in the censures now heaped upon him for their removal! If, therefore, the people want peculators and defaulters, to fill their offices of trust and honor, they will vote against General Jackson upon this charge of proscription.

In our opinion, if there be ground of censure on account of removals, it is that there *have not been enough*. We are persuaded that the administration would have done more justice to itself, to the people, and to the principles which brought it into power, if the number of removals had been doubled. There can be no reforms in government without a change of public officers. The change of a Chief Magistrate and Heads of Departments merely, effects but little. The chief abuses are in the details of the government, and can be reached only by reaching those who commit them.

But what right have the enemies of those principles which brought General Jackson into power, and govern his administration—principles essential to the preservation of our liberties and our institutions—to expect employment at the hands of the President? Can they expect him to give power and influence to men who labor to defeat his most cherished objects? Do the people expect the President to sustain and reward his and their enemies? Is that the way to secure the ascendancy of republican principles in this republic?

From these and other considerations known to us as citi-

zens or residents of the District of Columbia, we believe the error of the administration has been not *too much proscription* but *too much forbearance*.

### PUBLIC EXPENDITURES.

Ever since Gen. Jackson's accession to the Presidency, there has been a persevering effort on his part to diminish the public expenditures, and on the part of his enemies in Congress to increase them. If he has not entirely succeeded in his design, he has done more than could have been effected by any other man, and as much as the most sanguine of his friends could reasonably expect.

From authentic documents, we are enabled to give an accurate account of the public expenditures for the last six years, and show that instead of meriting censure because they have been so great since his accession to office, General Jackson deserves unqualified commendation for not suffering them to be greater.

The following is an accurate comparative statement of the payments made during the last three years of Mr. Adams's administration, and the first three years of Gen. Jackson's:

	1826-7-8.	1829-30-31.
Payments on account of National Debt,	\$33,208,188 65	\$39,913,994 22
Civil List and Miscellaneous,	8,783,726 57	9,362,168 88
Military,	15,439,107 87	17,855,238 47
Indian Department,	2,208,891 95	2,151,084 74
Navy,	12,427,663 12	10,711,509 27
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$72,267,518 10	\$79,993,995 58
		<hr/>
		72,267,518 10
		<hr/>
Apparent balance against Gen. Jackson,		\$7,726,477 48

This balance is made up as follows: viz.

Paid by Gen. Jackson more than by Mr.

Adams on account of National Debt,	\$6,705,805 57
Do. in increased expenses of the Judiciary,	143,917 16
Do. for taking Fifth Census,	367,781 14
Do. for Arsenals,	101,205 63
Do. Chesapeake and Ohio Canal,	400,000 00
Do. Armament of New Fortifications,	116,664 70

Do. Delaware Breakwater,	587,158 50
Do. Revolutionary Claims,	333,962 24
Do. Ohio and Mississippi Rivers,	173,442 00
Do. Fortifications at Charleston,	113,531 00
Do. do at Savannah,	97,971 95
Do. do at Pensacola,	327,000 00
Do. Massachusetts Claims,	419,748 26
	<u>9,888,188 15</u>

Difference in favor of General Jackson, \$2,161,710 67

There should be added to Mr. Adams's ex-

pendeditures and deducted from General

Jackson's on account of arrearages in the

Indian Department, \$60,989,69

Do. In Navy Department, 78,000 00

\$138,989 60

This deducted from the one and added to  
the other, would make a difference in  
favor of Gen. Jackson, of

277,979 20

\$2,439,689 87

The difference in favor of the present administration in the Navy Department alone, embracing all expenditures, according to the official reports, is \$1,716,093 85. If we include the sums called for in 1828, but not paid for want of funds, and afterwards paid out of the appropriations of 1829, the difference is at least \$1,872,000.

The difference in the Indian Department is, by the official reports, \$57,807 21 in favor of General Jackson. But the debts contracted under Mr. Adams, exceeded the appropriations by \$60,989 20 and this has been appropriated and paid under the present administration. Take this from one side and add it to the other, and it will show a reduction of expenditures equal to \$179,785 61 in the Indian Department.

This circumstance is rendered more striking by the fact, that never, during any other period of three years, has so much been done towards the removal of the Indians from the soil of our States, and the purchase of their lands for the use of a white population. Treaties of cession and removal have been made with the Delawares, Choctaws,

Chickasaws, Senecas, Shawnees, Ottawas, Wyandotts, and Creeks, and large tracts of land have been purchased of the Chippewas and Winnebagoes. The lands thus acquired, in Ohio, Illinois, Mississippi, and Alabama, are estimated in the War Department at 33,079,900 acres, *equal, in extent, to seven of our smaller States all put together.* Yet, the expenditures on account of Indian Affairs have been materially reduced!

In the expenses of Foreign Intercourse, there is a balance of \$97,813 54 against General Jackson, and this is extensively used by the opposition to discredit his administration among the people.

When General Jackson came into office, he found the nation represented abroad by men who, from various circumstances, were unable to render any effectual service to the country. He did not hesitate to substitute others in their places. The consequence was, a series of diplomatic triumphs, unequalled within any similar period of our government. If we make out a mere account of profit and loss, how does it stand?

Let General Jackson be charged with this excess of expenditure,

\$97,813

Then credit him by claims recovered from Den-

mark, - - - - - 750,000

By claims recovered from France, - - - - - 5,000,000

Add claims recovered from Colombia, and Portugal, and we shall find a balance of at least \$5,800,000 in *actual cash* in his favor.

But this is not all. By judicious commercial arrangements effected with Colombia, Brazil, Mexico, Austria, Turkey, and Great Britain, our trade, and, consequently, our revenue have increased, affording General Jackson the means of paying off in three years \$6,700,000 more of public debt than Mr. Adams did. Add this to the actual cash recovered for our citizens, and we have **TWELVE AND A HALF MILLIONS** secured to the country, by General Jackson's management of our foreign relations.

Is it worthy of intelligent men to urge against the President this increase of \$97,813 54 in diplomatic expenditures, when it has secured to the country pecuniary benefit, *a hundred and twenty-five fold more valuable?* Who will not cheerfully part with \$97,000 to secure \$12,500,000? The expenditures of the present administration have brought some return to the country. Can as much be said for those of the last? What were the benefits of the \$499,839 spent by Mr. Adams for foreign intercourse during his last three years? The projected mission to the Congress of Panama cost \$28,934, and they were never able to find such a Congress! The British West India trade was lost, and we were involved in difficulties with Colombia, Brazil, and many other powers.

We are content that the people shall decide upon the merits of the administration by the expense, and the benefits of its diplomatic arrangements.

## THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.

It is now admitted, on all hands, that the Bill to re-charter the Bank of the United States, was passed at the late Session of Congress with the view of bringing all the power, influence and wealth of that institution to operate upon the approaching election of President and Vice President. Such was, in substance, the avowal of Messrs. Webster and Clay, in the Senate, and such are the declarations of its friends, in general.

In common times, the open attempt of a huge corporation to make a President for the people, would produce its instant annihilation. The danger to public liberty would be so obvious, and so appalling, as to rouse into action every honest and patriotic feeling.

But there is now something more to rouse the people. The means resorted to by the Bank to carry its point, are more objectionable than its mere interference in elections.

By loans to Members of Congress, in sums of \$5,000, \$10,000, \$20,000, and \$40,000, a large portion of those who were to vote on the question of its re-charter, were secretly made its dependents. Members opposed to the Bank, who happened to be absent from their posts, or finally went over and voted for it, were accommodated with large sums, while the institution was curtailing its loans to others.

Some influential presses have been kept in motion by liberal accommodations from the Bank. The editors of others, on receiving large loans, from enemies have become friends. New papers have been established upon means furnished by the Bank, or its interested friends. The printing account of the Bank, which had never before amounted to \$1,000 per year, was in 1830, over \$6,000, and in 1831, over \$9,000—a great portion of which was avowedly spent in publishing dissertations in favor of the Bank, and circulating them among the people. At this moment, the same thing is undoubtedly doing to a greater extent than ever, and the public money in that institution is thrown out in every direction, to give vigor to those who are in opposition to the President.

The managers of the Bank, in the meantime, have not been unmindful of the means in their power to control *the people themselves*; and have, during the whole year 1831, and the former part of 1832, been preparing for this conflict. At the close of the year 1830, the whole amount due the Bank was \$42,402,304 24. This was increased during the year 1831, in the sum of \$20,624,148 69, and in four months of 1832, \$7,401,617 79, making in all, \$28,025-768 48 *in sixteen months!* By this profusion of loans, not only members of Congress were conciliated, and presses secured; but multitudes of other citizens were made dependents of the Bank.

The particular sections of country which were favored by Bank accommodations must not be overlooked in enquiring for the motives of the Bank. Upwards of \$6,300,000

were loaned in Pennsylvania last year; 5,700,000 of it at the principal Bank, in Philadelphia. What gigantic efforts are now making by the Bank and its interested debtors and friends, to control the elections in that State! Corruption walks in the streets of Philadelphia with unblushing front, and Terror brandishes his whip of scorpions in open day!

Upwards of \$3,750,000, were loaned out in New York the same year. There, also, the Bank is bringing opposites into conjunction, and preparing for a desperate effort to control the majority of the people.

In Kentucky were loaned more than 1,400,000 dollars, and from that quarter we hear notes of preparation which portend a most tremendous conflict between the Bank and the people.

Into Ohio were thrown upwards of 1,180,000 dollars, and there the Bank disputes the ascendancy with the yeomanry of the State.

The valley of the Mississippi is "a land of promise," which the Bank seems determined to subdue. At the close of 1829, there were due to the Bank, in all that region, \$16,606,959. In February 1832, its dues, at the same points, were 32,177,773, dollars, having nearly *doubled in twenty-five months!* Although as early as October 1831, and through the following months, November, December, January and February, the principal Bank was directing curtailments, the branches in the West, by the connivance of the principal Bank, if not in obedience to secret instructions, were making extensions of *almost a million a month!* and the process was still progressing at the last returns reported by the committee of investigation, and by them laid before Congress!

The motive of all these movements cannot be mistaken. The first object was to secure a majority of Congress to the interests of the Bank, that an act re-chartering the institution might be passed, in opposition to the known views of the President. The next was to secure as many presses as

possible to the same interest. Of those in general opposed to the administration, they were already assured, and consequently their highest favors were bestowed on those which professed to be devoted to the re-election of the President, and were supposed to have an extensive influence among his friends. Lastly, by an extension of loans and Bank favors, as many of the active men of the country as possible were either conciliated to the Bank or brought within its power.

All these operations were carried on *in secrecy*. The people knew not who of their representatives had been conciliated by loans, which of their presses had been purchased by Bank favors, or who of their active men had received the *twenty-eight millions*, thrown out by the Bank to poison the springs of public opinion. All remember how unwilling the Bank men in Congress were to consent to an investigation which might lay bare some of these movements, and how zealously they sought, after the disclosures were made, to destroy their force upon the public mind. The report of the committee scarcely checked their career. The bill to re-charter the Bank was passed by a congress, a large number of whose members were deeply its debtors; the President, as was expected, refused to sign the bill and gave his reasons; the purchased presses abandoned him and went over to the Bank; and the army of debtors and dependents, created for the purpose, is now arrayed through fear of heavy curtailments and hopes of future favors, against the man who has dared to brave the explosion of the mine which had been sprung to destroy him.

Never was such a gigantic and corrupt scheme devised and executed to put down an honest, patriotic and fearless man! With a disciplined army of officers and dependants extending through the Union; with an array of attorneys and expectants almost innumerable; with four thousand stockholders and innumerable debtors; with 70,000,000 dollars of debt, *two-fifths* of it created within sixteen months for the special occasion; aided by an organized and powerful polit-

ical party, desperately struggling for ascendancy; it would be a miracle if it did not produce some effect on the public mind, and materially affect the approaching elections. But we rest in confidence upon the virtue and firmness of the people in this crisis, to sustain the man who has risked life, property, office and fame in their service, and to vindicate the purity of their elections against this bold interference of a monied power.

### THE NEW COALITION.

The means devised previous to the late session of Congress to destroy our invaluable President, and place the administration of the government in other hands, are no longer a secret. Mr. Van Buren had been appointed Minister to England, for which station he was eminently qualified. By his rival aspirants to the Presidency in the Senate, it was determined that his nomination should be rejected. It was foreseen that this event would compel the Republican Party, in justice to Mr. Van Buren and to the President himself, to select him as their candidate for the Vice Presidency, and it was not doubted, that this would weaken the President. To give this blow more effect, while Mr. Van Buren's *professing* friend but *secret* enemy, the Bank Press in New York, contrary to his wishes, and in known disregard of his intentions, was announcing him as a candidate for the Vice Presidency, his *open* enemy in Washington was attacking him as really a candidate, and attempting to make the Republican presses pledge themselves to oppose him. In pursuance of the projected scheme, he was rejected, under pretences too shallow to cover the enormity of the act from the most simple observer; the just feeling of the republican party induced them, immediately, to fix on him as their candidate for Vice President, and thus far the designs of the managers were accomplished.

Their next great object was, to throw upon the President

the Bank of the United States. In this also they were completely successful.

Another object was, to bring the Nullifiers and Anti-Masons to act in concert with the regular opposition. So far as regards the *leaders*, this, also, has been effected.

Our country now presents a singular spectacle. In States where there is no hope of defeating General Jackson, his *enemies* are arranging electoral tickets for Jackson and some other candidate for Vice President, against the tickets for Jackson and Van Buren, for the purpose of defeating the one if they cannot the other. Nullification and the American System, those who would dissolve the Union to get rid of the Tariff, and those who would brave dissolution to preserve it, are united in the same cause. Leading Anti-Masons and leading Masons give each other mutual support. Editors who have denounced each other and do still, as totally destitute of honor and principle, are laboring in the same cause. All principle, all consistency and self-respect, are lost in an indiscriminate opposition to the man who dares to do his duty in defiance of threats and clamors—whom millions of gold cannot bribe and thousands in arms cannot alarm.

*Republicans!* There has not been a more interesting or more momentous struggle since the establishment of our national independence. It is the war of PUBLIC VIRTUE against BANK CORRUPTION. If President Jackson shall be driven from office by the coalesced opposition; if the Bank shall be triumphant in this conflict; if the offices of President, Vice President and Secretaries, are to be filled by its Attorneys and pensioners; if Congress is to be controlled by its debtors, it is easy to perceive that, *the Bank will be the ruler of these United States.* The man who controls the Bank will govern the nation. The machinery of government at Washington, will become the mere organ through which the will of the Bank will assume the forms of law; and as Cæsar mocked Rome with the names of a Senate

and Consuls that he might the more easily destroy Liberty's last vestige, so the American people will be mocked with the forms of a President, Senate and House of Representatives, while all real power will be centered in the Bank Conclave at Philadelphia. And when nearly the whole stock of this Bank shall have passed into foreign hands, as almost a fourth it already has; when the President and Directors who even now elect themselves, shall have consolidated their power beyond the reach of revolution; when they shall have become *entirely*, as they now are to a great extent, the agents of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain, to collect their revenues in America; what will our government be, but the vicegerent of British Lords; what our people, but their tributaries; and what our country, but reconquered provinces of the British Empire!

In these considerations we find ample motive to induce us at the present crisis, to contribute our mite to the cause of liberty, and present to those who hold the free suffrage of America, the transcendent motives which should stimulate them to action. If we shall be in any degree instrumental in preserving that independence and those rights which cost our country so much toil, treasure, suffering and blood, we shall reap an ample reward for any responsibilities we may encounter, in making this appeal to our countrymen.

HENRY ASHTON, *President.*

EDWARD VAN NESS, *Rec. Secretary, pro. tem.*

HENRY C. NEAL, *Correspon'g Sec. pro. tem.*

